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# Buddhist *pāramitās* as seen from Old Uygur texts

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## Abstract:

The paper presents a comparative re-edition of a Chinese Buddhist text preserved only in Uygur script reconstructed as \*沐浴讚 \*Muyuzan “Praise of washing [purification]” based on the six *pāramitās*. Some of the six versions in the collections of St. Petersburg and Berlin are accompanied by Old Uygur translation. Problems of the poem and the *pāramitās* are discussed as well as the question of the embodiment of the poem within composite texts. Textual references to the *triratna* worship and the Buddhist commandments are given for a better understanding of the practice of the Old Uygur Buddhists.

## Keywords:

Old Uygur Buddhism, \*沐浴讚 \*Muyuzan, Chinese in Uygur script, *pāramitās*, *triratna*, commandments.

## Short introduction

In Buddhist theory and practice the *pāramitās* play an important role. In the *Taishō Tripiṭaka* there are two *sūtras* which contain in their title *ṣaṭpāramitā*. One is entitled 六波集經 *Liu duji jing* = \**Ṣaṭpāramitāsaṃgraha* in eight *juan*<sup>1</sup>. It contains *jātaka* stories, the whole work was translated into French by É. Chavannes: “Recueil des sūtras sur les six pāramitās”<sup>2</sup>. The other one is the *sūtra* called 菩薩內習六波羅密經 *Pusa neixi liu boluomi jing* in one *juan* reconstructed as \**Ṣaṭpāramitāsūtra*<sup>3</sup>. Both *sūtras* are long scriptures which have no direct connection to the poem to be discussed here. The six *pāramitās* are the virtues on the Bodhisattva way.<sup>4</sup>

It is well known that the Uyghurs used Chinese Buddhist texts in manifold ways. They not only translated Buddhist scriptures from Chinese, but also transcribed Chinese texts solely in their own script, sometimes in a mixed way by using Chinese characters and Uyghur script, sometimes with Uyghur translation or without. A study of a rather large booklet of the Turfan Collection in Berlin which contains mainly Chinese texts in transcription was begun by György Kara<sup>5</sup>, later continued by Masahiro Shōgaito and finally published as a work of a group comprising five scholars<sup>6</sup>.

One of the shorter texts of this composite manuscript is a poem entitled with the fictitious

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1. T.III.152. Cp. Répertoire, p. 28.

2. Chavannes 1962, pp. 1–346.

3. T.VII.778. Cp. Répertoire, p. 74.

4. Dayal 1932, pp. 165–269.

5. Kara 1982, cp. Umemura 1983.

6. BT 34.

title 沐浴讚 *Muyuzan* “Worship and washing oneself” (perhaps better: “Praise of washing [purification]”). As the origin of this work has not been found, *\*Muyuzan* should be preceded by an asterisk in order to make it clear that it is a reconstructed title. The structure of the supposed Chinese text clearly indicates that it is a poem which follows one of the usual patterns: quatrains of 7 syllables per verse (= 28 syllables). It is a praise of the Buddha who is perfect in all six *pāramitās* wherefore he is able to wash away the mental dirt from the still inadequate beings with the metaphorical water. Since each quatrain is dedicated to one *pāramitā*, the poem consists of just six quatrains.

The 112 Chinese syllables of the *\*Muyuzan* poem are written however in Uyghur letters reflecting the 河西 Hexi pronunciation of early Yuan period. A restoration of the Chinese characters is relatively simple, because in most of the manuscripts the Old Uyghur translation follows a respective quatrain. Nevertheless, some difficulties remain, because there are not always perfect matches. Since the reproduction of the Chinese text follows exactly the assumed structure and because most of the poems of this Old Uyghur collection of Chinese texts could be identified, one was ready to assume that this *\*Muyuzan* could also turn up in its original Chinese version. But the search so far has been fruitless. Here, I would like to thank many Buddhologists for their help, especially Chuan Wang, Sanqing Wang, and Marcus Günzel. The motif of washing away the dirt of sin and imperfection with the water of perfection is present in many Buddhist texts and may have some relation to the *abhiṣeka* rite<sup>7</sup>. In two cases, the authors of BT 34 referred to some similar Chinese phrases. In one of them the “water of wisdom” (智慧水) is mentioned for “washing away the dust of mind” (洗除心垢), in the other one “ten defilements” are enumerated<sup>8</sup>. Since the Buddhist Uyghurs were surely familiar with these metaphorical expressions, perhaps someone consolidated this idea into this poem and, perhaps to increase the significance of the poem, wrote the same text not only in an Uyghur translation, but also in a Chinese version, which, however, is only preserved in an Uyghur transcription.

### **Copies of the *\*Muyuzan***

Beside the most complete version A there are other copies which differ mostly in a few details only, so that one can reconstruct the entire text quite well. Here is an overview of the copies of which B, D, E and F are new while C was already used in BT 34.

A Berlin Collection: U 5335 (bilingual: Chinese in Uyghur script + Old Uyghur translation). This is the version edited in BT 34 as text R<sup>9</sup>.

B Berlin Collection: U 5554 (T II D 68), a book page written on both sides in semi-cursive Uyghur script which contains the Chinese text in transcription only. It is a collection of several Chinese texts in transcription, only the lines verso 05-07 belong to the *\*Muyuzan*.

C Serindia Collection: SI 5612 (2 Kr 21)<sup>10</sup>.

D Berlin Collection: U 5511 (T II 926), almost completely preserved book page, written on both sides in semi-cursive Uyghur script<sup>11</sup>.

<sup>7</sup> I owe this idea to Nobuyoshi Yamabe who has studied the *abhiṣeka* rites in connection with the meditation practices.

<sup>8</sup> BT 34, p. 85.

<sup>9</sup> The first four lines equal to text R are given as text P (BT 34, p. 80).

<sup>10</sup> Serindia Collection of the IOM/RAS already used in BT 34, pp. 81–85.

<sup>11</sup> Cp.: [https://orient-mss.kohd.adw-goe.de/receive/KOHDoldUyghurMSBook\\_uslamhs\\_00000655](https://orient-mss.kohd.adw-goe.de/receive/KOHDoldUyghurMSBook_uslamhs_00000655).

E Berlin Collection: Ch/U 6933 (T II Y17) + Ch/U 6799 (without any old signature). The obverse of this joined fragment contains a section of a Chinese scroll of the *Prajñāpāramitā* scripture T. 221<sup>12</sup>, the reverse in semi-cursive Uygur script the end of the six *pāramitā* poem in Old Uygur translation followed by another text.

F Serindia Collection: SI 5095 (Kr IV 404). Fragment of a book page in calligraphic Uygur script. Although apparently only one donor is named, the 1st person plural of the worship verb is regularly used: *yükünürbiz* instead of *yükünürmān* of other copies.

### Donors

The fourth stereotypical line of the stanzas certainly refers to the Buddha. But in two copies contemporary personal names are used whose carriers were probably donors.

A: Bolmiš Šila. Only from Stanza VI does it emerge that he sees himself as the worshipper. As can be supposed from U 5335, p. 35 (BT 34, p. 51), Bolmiš (here without Šila) was also the owner of the book.

F: Činkui (\*真慧) Šäli.

### Reconstruction of the Chinese text<sup>13</sup>

Ia	yw <sup>14</sup> vyr sw l'y vwq ywq šyn	又佛如來沐浴身
Ib	yy vw šy sw q'n t'm qyy	以布施水慳貪垢
Ic	qy p'y šyn šwq š-' yw ly	更皮身肉捨有離
Id	šy qw ky ly sy sy šy	是故敬禮清淨師
IIa	yw vyr sw l'y vwq ywq šyn	又佛如來沐浴身
IIb	yy cy q'y šw s'q q'y qyy-'	以持戒水?戒垢 <sup>15</sup>
IIc	šy q'n cy q'y vy vyr šynk	世間持戒唯佛勝 <sup>16</sup>
IId	šy qw ky ly sy sy šy	是故敬禮清淨師
IIIa	yw vyr sw l'y vwq ywq šyn	又佛如來沐浴身
IIIB	yy šyn šwq sw yyn t'm qyy	以忍辱水忍貪垢 <sup>17</sup>
IIIC	'ww cyn šw šyn vy vyr tyk	無瞋上忍唯佛得 <sup>18</sup>
IIId	šy qw ky ly sy sy šy	是故敬禮清淨師
IVa	yw <sup>19</sup> vyr sw l'y vwq ywq šyn	又佛如來沐浴身
IVb	yy sy kyn šw vw sym qyy	以精勤水放心垢

<sup>12</sup>. T.VIII.221.144a7–14.

<sup>13</sup>. It follows more or less the edition of BT 34.

<sup>14</sup>. Text P (BT 34, p. 29/1) has ywy. Cp. BT 34, p. 80: “Thus, probably ywy is a spelling error for yww.”

<sup>15</sup>. Kara (apud Umemura 1983, p. 73): 以齋戒水塞戒垢. BT 34, p. 82. Following the translation *sıyuk čahšap(a)t kirlärig* the authors reconstruct the last three characters as 破戒垢, but s'q cannot be a transcription of 破 *po*. Therefore they propose for s'q 作 “to make”, but Kara's 塞 *sai* “to block” seems to fit semantically better.

<sup>16</sup>. Kara (apud Umemura 1983, p. 73): 世間齋戒以為勝.

<sup>17</sup>. Kara 1991, p. 132: 以忍辱水間談垢.

<sup>18</sup>. Kara 1991, p. 132: 無瞋上忍以唯得.

<sup>19</sup>. yy.

IVc	sww yyk <sup>20</sup> ywnk kyn vy vyr tyk	?? 勇健唯佛得
IVd	šy qw ky ly sy sy šy	是故敬禮清淨師
Va	yw <sup>21</sup> vyr sw l'y vwq ywq šyn	又佛如來沐浴身
Vb	yy šyn ty šw 'ww sw qyy	以禪定水妄想垢
Vc	v'p kym qw s-' vy vyr tyk	法金剛座唯佛得
Vd	šy qw ky ly sy sy šy	是故敬禮清淨師

VIa	yw <sup>22</sup> vyr sw l'y vwq ywq šyn	又佛如來沐浴身
VIb	yy cy kww sww 'ww my qyy	以智慧水無明垢
VIc	nynk sym nynk py (vy) vyr tyk	能 ? 能平唯佛得
VId	šy qw ky ly sy sy šy	是故敬禮清淨師

### *The manuscripts in comparison*

#### I. dāna

Ia							
*	又	佛	如	來	沐	浴	身
A Chinese	yw	vyr	sw	l'y	vwq	ywq	šyn
B Chinese							
A Uyğur	ymä	t(ä)ñrim			siz yunduñuz		
C							
D	ymä	t(ä)ñrim			siz yutuñuz		
E							
F							
Ib							
*	以	布	施	水	慳	貪	垢
A Chinese	yy	vw	šy	sw	q'n	t'm	qyy
B Chinese	yy	pw	šy	šw			
A Uyğur	bušılığ suv üzä				az saranlanmaklıg		kirlärig
C							
D	bušılığ suv üzä				az saranlanmaklıg		kirlärig
E							
F							
Ic							
*	更	皮	身	肉	捨	有	離
A Chinese	qy	p'y	šyn	šwq	š-'	yw	ly
B Chinese					š-'	[ ]w	ly
A Uyğur	takı	artukrak	öz ätözünüzdäki	ätiñizkă yiniñizkädägi		tidtiñiz ıdaladıñız	
C							

<sup>20.</sup> sww yyk ?

<sup>21.</sup> yy.

<sup>22.</sup> yy.

D	takı	artukrak	öz ätözünütäki	ätiñizkā kanıñızkadägi		titdiñiz ıdal(a)dıñız	
E							
F						[...]čsiz [...]	
Id							
*	是	故	敬	禮	清	淨	師
A Chinese	šy	qw	ky	ly	sy	sy	šy
B Chinese	šy						..
A Uygur	anı üçün		m(ä)n bolmış šıla				
C							
D	anı üçün		m(ä)n yükünürm(ä)n		kirsiz arıg		bahşıka
E							
F	[anı] üç[ü]n		biz yükünürbiz [...]				

## II. šıla

IIa							
*	又	佛	如	來	沐	浴	身
A Chinese	yw	vyr	sw	l'y	vwq	ywq	šyn
B Chinese							
A Uygur	ymä	t(ä)ŋrim			yunduŋuz		
C	ymä	t(ä)ŋrim			siz yutuŋuz		
D	ymä	t(ä)ŋrim			siz yutuŋuz		
E							
F	.. ymä	t(ä)ŋrim			siz yuntu[ŋuz]		
IIb							
*	以	持	戒	水	? 塞	戒	垢
A Chinese	yy	cy	q'y	šw	s'q	q'y	qyy
B Chinese							
A Uygur	čahšap(a)tlıg suv üzä				sıyuk	čahšap(a)tlıg	kirlärig
C						[...]lıg	kir[lärig]
D	arig čahšap(a)tlıg suv üzä				yavız	čahš(a)p(a)tlıg	kirlärig
E							
F					sıyuk	čahšap(a)t	kirlärig
IIc							
*	世	間	持	戒	唯	佛	勝
A Chinese	šy	q'n	cy	q'y	vy	vyr	šynk
B Chinese							
A Uygur	alku yertinčütäki		čahšap(a)t arasınta		tuttaçılar	yintäm	siz ök
C	[alku yertinčütäki]		čahšap(a)t arasınta		[tuttaçılar]	[yintäm]	[siz ök]
							yegädtiŋiz (korr.: yegädtiŋiz )
							yegädtiŋiz

D	alku yertinčütäki		čahšap(a)t küzätdäčilärdä      kamıg [arasınta]				yegädtiñiz
E							
F			[...]      küzätdäčilärtä k[amıg ...]				
IId							
*	是	故	敬	禮	清	淨	師
A Chinese	šy	qw	ky	ly	sy	sy	šy
B Chinese							
A Uyğur	anı üçün		m(ä)n bolmış šila				
C							
D	anı üçün		yükünürm(ä)n		ki[r]s[iz] [arıg]		[bahşıka]
E							
F	[anı üçün]		yükünürbiz činkui šäli		a[...]		

### III. samādhī

IIIa							
*	又	佛	如	來	沐	浴	身
A Chinese	yw	vyr	šw	l'y	vwq	ywq	šyn
B Chinese							
A Uyğur	ymä	t(ä)ŋrim			siz yunduŋuz		
C	ymä	t(ä)ŋrim			yunt[uŋuz]		
D	ymä	t(ä)ŋrim			siz yut[uŋuz]		
E							
F	[ymä]	t(ä)ŋrim			siz yuntuŋuz		
IIIb							
*	以	忍	辱	水	忍	貪	垢
A Chinese	yy	šyn	šwq	sw	yyn	t'm	qyy
B Chinese							
A Uyğur	särinmäklig suv üzä				korgu yeniklänmäklig		kirlärig
C	[särinmäklig] suv üzä				korgu yeniklänmäklig		kirlärig
D	[särinmäklig suv üz]ä				korgu ye(n)iklänmäkl[ig]		[kirlärig]
E							
F	säri[nmäklig suv üzä]				[korgu ye(n)ik]länmäklig		kirlärig
IIIc							
*	無	瞋	上	忍	唯	佛	得
A Chinese	'ww	cyn	šw	šyn	vy	vyr	tyk
B Chinese							

A Uyğur	övkäsiz kakıksız		baştınkıta baştınkı	särinmäklig köñülüg	yintäm	siz ök	bulduñuz
C	[övkäsiz kakıksız]		baştınkıta baştınkı	särinmäk köñülüg		siz	bultuñuz
D	[övkäsiz kakıksız]		[baştınkı]ta baştınkı	öpkäsiz [särinmäklig köñülüg]	[yintä]m	siz	bultuñuz
E							
F			baş[tınkıta baştınkı]	irinčsiz särinmäk köñ[ülüg]			
III d							
*	是	故	敬	禮	清	淨	師
A Chinese	şy	qw	ky	ly	sy	sy	şy
B Chinese							
A Uyğur	anı üçün		yükünürm(ä)n		kirsiz arıg		bahşıka
C							
D	anı [üçün]		[m(ä)n] yükünürm(ä)n		kirsiz arıg		bahşıka
E							
F	[anı] üçün		yükünürbiz		kirsiz [arıg]		[bahşıka]

#### IV. vırya

IVa							
*	又	佛	如	來	沐	浴	身
A Chinese	yw	vyr	šw	l'y	vwq	ywq	šyn
B Chinese							
A Uyğur	–	–			–		
C	ymä	t(ä)ŋrim			yuntuŋuz		
D	ymä	t(ä)ŋrim			siz yutuŋuz		
E							
F	[ymä]	[t(ä)ŋrim]			siz yuntuŋuz		
IVb							
*	以	精	勤	水	放	心	垢
A Chinese	yy	sy	kyn	šw	vw	sym	qyy
B Chinese							
A Uyğur	katıgılanmaklıg suv üzä				sımdag bolmaklıg	kogşak	kirlärig
C	katıgılanmaklıg suv üzä				sımtag köñüllüg		kirlärig
D	katıgılanmaklıg suv üzä				sımtag kogşak köñüllüg		kirlärig
E							
F	katıgılan[maklıg suv üzä]				[sımtag] köñüllüg		kirlärig
IVc							
*	?	?	勇	健	唯	佛	得
A Chinese	sww	yyk	ywnk	kyn	vy	vyr	tyk



B Chinese							
A Uygur	tedimlig kınımlıg		katıgılanmaklıg köñülüg		yintäm	siz ök	tidtiñiz
C	alku tınl(ı)g oğlanı üçün		alp katıgılanmaklıg köñülüg			siz	bultuñuz
D	alku tınl(ı)g oğlanın tıngalır üçün		alp katıgılanmakıg			siz	til(ä)tiñ[iz]
E	[... ü]çün						
F	[...] üçün		alpta alp ka[tıgılanmakıg ...]				
IVd							
*	是	故	敬	禮	清	淨	師
A Chinese	şy	qw	ky	ly	sy	sy	şy
B Chinese							
A Uygur							
C	anı üçün		yükünürm(ä)n		kirsiz arıg		bahşıka
D	anı üçün		[m(ä)n] yükünürm(ä)n		ki(r)siz arıg		bahşıka
E	[a]nı üçün						[bahş]ı-ka
F	anı üçün		yükünürbiz		ki[rsiz arıg]		[bahşıka]

## V. dhyāna

Va							
*	又	佛	如	來	沐	浴	身
A Chinese	yw	vyr	šw	l'y	vwq	ywq	šyn
B Chinese							
A Uyгур	ymä	t(ä)ŋrim			siz yunduŋuz		
C	ymä	t(ä)ŋrim			yuntuŋuz		
D	ymä	t(ä)ŋrim			siz yutuŋuz		
E							
F	[ymä]	t(ä)ŋrim			yuntuŋuz		
Vb							
*	以	禪	定	水	妄	想	垢
A Chinese	yy	šyn	ty	šw	'ww	sw	qyy
B Chinese							
A Uyғur	dyanlıg suv üzä				igid yaŋluk sakınçlıg	kirlärig	
C	dyanlıg suv üzä				igid yaŋluk sakınçlıg	kirlärig	
D	dyanlıg suv üzä				igid yaŋluk sakınçlıg	kirlärig	
E	dyanlıg suv üzä				[igid yaŋluk sakınçlıg]	[kir]lärig	
F	dyan[lıg suv üzä]				[igid yaŋluk sakınçlıg]	[ki]rlärig	
Vc							
*	法	金	剛	座	唯	佛	得
A Chinese	v'p	kym	qw	s-'	vy	vyr	tyk
B Chinese							
A Uyғur	nomlug törülüg vačırasan örgünüg				yintäm	siz ök	bulduŋuz

C	tüp tüz tüzülmäk köñülüg					siz	bultuñuz
D	tüp tüz ärksinmäk köñülüg					siz	bultuñuz
E	tüp tüz ärksinmäk [...]						
F							
Vd							
*	是	故	敬	禮	清	淨	師
A Chinese	šy	qw	ky	ly	sy	sy	šy
B Chinese							
A Uyğur	anı üçün		m(ä)n bolmış šila ağırın ayagın yükünürm(ä)n ol andag osuglug bilgälärniñ arasınta		kkirsiz arıg çin kertü tözlüg		burhan bahşıka
C	anı üçün		yükünürm(ä)n		kirsiz arıg		bahşıka
D	anı üçün		yükünürm(ä)n		kirsiz arıg		bahşıka
E	[anı ü]çün		yükünürm(ä)n		kirsiz [arıg]		[bahşıka]
F							

## VI. prajñā

VIa							
*	又	佛	如	來	沐	浴	身
A Chinese	yw	vyr	šw	l'y	vwq	ywq	šyn
B Chinese							
A Uygur	ymä	t(ä)ŋrim			[s]iz yunduŋuz		
C	ymä	t(ä)ŋrim			yuntuŋuz		
D	ymä	t(ä)ŋrim			siz yutuŋuz		
E	[ymä]	[t(ä)ŋri]m			siz yuntuŋuz		
F							
VIb							
*	以	智	慧	水	無	明	垢
A Chinese	yy	cy	kww	sww	'ww	my	qyy
B Chinese							
A Uygur	bilgä biliglig suv üzä				biligsiz biliglig		kkirlärig
C	bilgä biliglig suv üzä				biligsiz biliglig		kirlärig
D	bilgä biliglig suv üzä				biligsiz biliglig		kirlärig
E	bilgä [biliglig suv üzä]				[biligsiz] biliglig		kirlärig
F							
VIc							
*	能	?	能	平	唯	佛	得
A Chinese	nynk	sym	nynk	py	vy	vyr	tyk
B Chinese	nynk	sym	wy	vyr			
A Uygur	tüp tüz täp täŋ tüzülmäklig köŋülüg				yintäm	siz ök	bulduŋuz
C	törüčä b(ä)k katig orunug				otgurak	siz	tilätiŋiz

D	törüčä b(ä)k katıg orunug				otgurak	siz	tilätiñiz
E	törü[čä b(ä)k katıg orunug]				otgurak	siz	tilätiñiz
F							
VId							
*	是	故	敬	禮	清	淨	師
A Chinese	šy	qw	ky	ly	sy	sy	šy
B Chinese							
A Uyğur	anı üçün		m(ä)n bolmış šila ağırın ayagın yükünü täginürm(ä)n ol andag osuglug bilgälärniñ arasinta		kändün tuymış		bilgäkä
C	anı üçün		yükünürm(ä)n bilgälärniñ arasinta		k(ä)ntün tuymış		bilgä biligligkä
D	anı üçün		yükü[nürm(ä)n bilgä]lärniñ arasinta		k(ä)ntün tu[ymış]		[bilgä biligl]igkä
E	anı [üčün]		[yükünürm(ä)n bilgä bilig] arasinta		[k(ä)ntün tuymış]		[bilgä] biligligkä
F							

### Translation

I.

And you, my Lord, you washed away by means of the *dāna*-water the dirt of the greed. Moreover, you gave up and abandoned yourself up to the flesh and skin<sup>23</sup>. Therefore I, Bolmış Šila, (bow to the pure master).

II.

With the *śīla*-water (you washed away) the dirt of breaking the *śīla*. Among those who keep the commandments you alone are the foremost. Therefore I, Bolmış Šila, (ms. C: bow to the pure master)<sup>24</sup>.

III.

And you, my Lord, you washed away by means of the *samādhi*-water the dirt of frivolity and easy-going. You alone obtained the very first *samādhi* mind which is without anger and wrath. [Therefore I, Bolmış Šila, (bow to the pure master)].

IV.

By means of the *vīrya*-water (you washed away) the dirt of being careless and limp. You alone tasted the mind of severe and strong *vīrya*.

V.

And you, my Lord, you washed away by means of the *dhyāna*-water the dirt of wrong and false thoughts. You alone obtained the *vajrāsana* throne of the *dharma*<sup>25</sup>. Therefore I, Bolmış Šila, bow in respect and veneration to the such dirtless, pure and true Buddha master.

VI.

And you, my Lord, you washed away by means of the wisdom-water the dirt of ignorance. You alone obtained the mind of real and even equality. Therefore I, Bolmış Šila, bow in

<sup>23</sup>. Ms. D has “flesh and blood”.

<sup>24</sup>. Ms. C has this equivalent to the reconstructed Chinese phrase, cp. BT 34, p. 83: 禮清淨師.

<sup>25</sup>. Different phrases in the other manuscripts: *tüp tüz tüzülmäk köñülüg* “mind of even equality” (C), *tüp tüz ärksinmäk köñülüg* “mind of even powerfulness” (D, E).

respect and veneration to the self-enlightened Wise One among such wise men. I, Vukintu, wrote it.

### **Remarks on Zekine Özertural's critique of the edition of the Text R in BT 34**

Zekine Özertural<sup>26</sup> discusses the edition of this praise in BT 34 and makes a number of new suggestions of which some are obsolete because she does not consider the text in its bilingual context and has not used other versions of the text. Some details should be mentioned here<sup>27</sup>.

(p. 255) The name of the writer of manuscript A is not Yükentü, but Vukintu < Chinese 普賢奴 *puxiannu* “Slave of Samantabhadra”.

(p. 256) There is no need to ascribe a new meaning to the verb *yun-* as Z. Özertural does. It is not transitive because other copies have instead clearly *yu-* “to wash” (transitive). How the difference can be explained is not yet clear.

(p. 257) The name of the novice is not Kiläk šabi käh, but Kiläk šabi-käyā. The form *Little Šabi* often appears in colophon contexts, *kiläk* itself certainly goes back to a Chinese monk's name, but its origin is still not clear.

(pp. 257–258) The verses for the second and the third *pāramitās* were already interpreted by György Kara<sup>28</sup>. The second quatrain was also mentioned by Tokio Takata in 1990<sup>29</sup>.

(p. 258) As the versions C and D show, *yet-* is an erroneous spelling and is out of the question for the interpretation of the sentence, it stands for *yegäd-* “to be victorious, to be better”.

(pp. 258–259) The correct interpretation had already been given to Gy. Kara<sup>30</sup>, then by T. Takata<sup>31</sup>. Z. Özertural's comment on *kovgu* can be discarded since one expects a synonym word to *yeniklänmäk* here. In the *Daśakarmapathāvadānamālā* there are numerous examples of the compound *korgu yenik* “frivolously”.<sup>32</sup> Kōichi Kitsudō mentions in this volume a Chinese parallel to *korgurmak*<sup>33</sup>: *čökmäkig* 30 *kurgurmakig* 31 *b(ä)lgükä azlanmakig öñi ketärip örügün amılın ärmäk atl(i)g dyan* (209: 22–24): “the *dhyāna* called removing from the depression, arrogance, and being attached to the forms of phenomena, and then being at rest and peaceful”.

(p. 260) Since ms. C has *bul-* and ms. D *tilä-*, the spelling *tid-* is probably incorrect.

(p. 263) Although *otug* is also attested in ms. C the spelling *orunug* like in ms. D should be preferred.

(p. 263) *on paramit* “zehn Pāramitās” are not only known from the Uyghur version of the *Suvarṇaprabhāṣasūtra*, but also e.g. from BT VIII B 1131<sup>34</sup>, from Guanjing<sup>35</sup>, and others.

(p. 264) Through the four additional *pāramitās* the series of the *pāramitās* gains itself a new perfection as 10 is its symbolic number.

(p. 265) Z. Özertural mentions that the word *pāramitā* is not attested in the *Maitrisimit nom*

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<sup>26</sup>. Özertural 2019.

<sup>27</sup>. The p[age] numbers refer to Özertural 2019.

<sup>28</sup>. Kara 1991.

<sup>29</sup>. Takata 1990, p. 339 (after Umemura 1983).

<sup>30</sup>. Kara 1991.

<sup>31</sup>. Chronologically already in 1990.

<sup>32</sup>. BT 37, vol. III.

<sup>33</sup>. OTWF 501: *kurgu+r-*.

<sup>34</sup>. UWN sub *arig*.

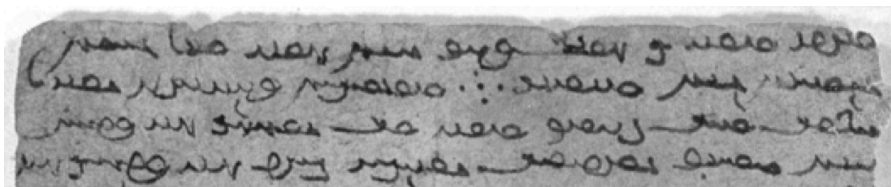
<sup>35</sup>. Line 1792.

*bitig*, but one finds it in the 15th book in an enumeration of the six *pāramitās*<sup>36</sup>.

(p. 266) Since Skt. *parimaṇḍala* “round” also means “appropriate, correct” in a figurative sense<sup>37</sup>, it can also be a variant because the *pāramitā* way is of course also the “appropriate way”. The term *parimaṇḍala* is present also in some other Buddhist texts<sup>38</sup>.

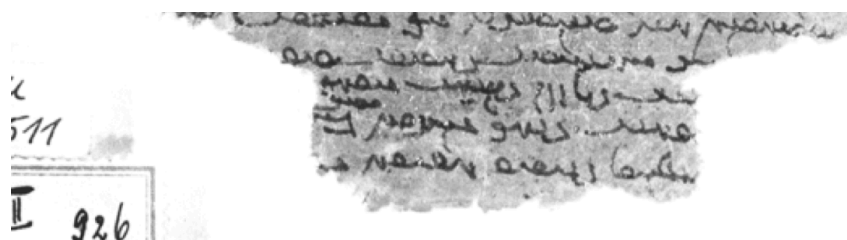
### ***Embedding the poem***

In version A the text *\*Muyuzan*<sup>39</sup> is part of a collection of predominantly smaller Buddhist works, often composed in verses, whose compilation is owed to the idea of bringing Chinese texts to an audience, which – although orally powerful in this more or less foreign literary language being of great importance for the Buddhists – was perhaps not so at home in writing. The whole booklet contains almost exclusively Chinese texts in Uighur script. In this case, the accompanying Old Uygur translation was decisive for the restoration of the Chinese text. The version of manuscript D which contains only the translation is interesting as it shows that the poem was embedded into a larger context. Through this structure one could imagine that the origin of the poem might be detected, but, unfortunately, the surrounding text passages are not sufficient for a clear solution. Firstly, the text passage preceding the *\*Muyuzan* is presented:



recto 01 -uñuz (?) ätözi söda bärü arıg süzök yaruk 02 yaltrıklıg tetir :: tuyunmak biliginiz üzä 03 ärdük-täg kertü tözüg uksar siz burhan 04 -larıg okıyu yükünüñ ölmäz mänü siz bolgay siz  
“The body of your [...] has been pure and clear, luminous and radiant ever since. When you understand the true root with your insight knowledge, call and worship the Buddhas! You will be immortal and eternal!”

It follows recto 05-verso 14 the *\*Muyuzan* text. The last lines of the leaf are badly destroyed, which is why they are also given here in transliteration.



14 [] klyš' qwsu[	]
15 []wsyn kysy ylnkwq (nwnk) m'[	]
16 []dl'p kyrtw qwrwq '[	]

<sup>36</sup>. Maitr.Hami.XV.11.12-16.

<sup>37</sup>. SWTF III 93b.

<sup>38</sup>. Kitsudō 2012, p. 65; Kasai BT.38.Ba19.

<sup>39</sup>. Texts P and R of BT 34.

(verso 14) kleša košu[g ] 15 [ t]osın kiši yalñuk-(nuñ) ma[ ] 16 [ ]  
 ıdalap kertü kurug y[ ]  
 “(... if one ...) wants to destroy the *kleša* bonds ] ... ... of the [w]ild human creature ... giving up,  
 the true emptiness (...).”

After an empty line the manuscript E comprises the end of the poem which is followed by an elaboration about the observance of the commandments of fasting. This text belongs to a lay ritual about the observance of the eight noble commandments. It is more detailed in the Chinese and Sogdian tradition. Yutaka Yoshida has examined the relation of P 5 and P 17 to the possible Chinese models from Dunhuang. A detail could also suggest a closer relationship between the Sogdian and Old Uygur traditions: Sogdian tpy'r 'xšph “tonight” is probably directly the model of *butünki* “tonight”<sup>40</sup>.

01 [ymä kim inčip ol .. äñilki t(ä)ñri] burhan y(a)rl(i)kamiš säkiz tözün  
 02 [bačagıg küzädgäli alu täginürm(ä)n] ymä бүкүнki күн butünki  
 03 [tün yarın tañkatägi a]rıgın tutar-m(ä)n arıgın  
 04 [ .. ikinti yolu] ymä m(ä)n t(ä)ñri burhan  
 05 [y(a)rl(i)kamiš säkiz tözün bačagı]g .. küzädgäli alu täginürm(ä)n  
 06 [ymä бүкүнki күн butünki tün] yarın tañkadägi arıg[ın]  
 07 [arıgın tutar-m(ä)n arıgın ..] üçünč yolu ymä [m(ä)n]  
 08 [t(ä)ñri burhan y(a)rl(i)kamiš säkiz töz]ün bačagıg küzädgäli  
 09 [alu täginürm(ä)n ymä бүкүнki күн butünki tün] yarın t(a)ñ  
 10 [-katägi arıgın tutar-m(ä)n .. y]mä äñilki

“Firstly, I humbly take upon myself the eight noble [fastings] preached by the [divine] Buddha. Today, day and night, until dawn, I keep them pure, pure [ ].

Secondly, I humbly take upon myself the observance of the eight noble fastings preached by the divine Buddha. [Today, day and night] until dawn [I keep them] pure [in, pure [ ].

Third, [To observe the eight noble] fasting preached by the divine Buddha [I humbly accept]. Today day and night [until] dawn [I keep them pure]”.

### ***Larger context: triratna worship and acceptance of the commands***

This *pāramitā* worship praise is closely related to similar fragments, which are the first prerequisites for the acceptance of the Buddhist commandments. A good example can be seen in the fragment SI 5363 (Kr IV 620) of the Serindia Collection of the IOM/RAS<sup>41</sup>.

recto

01 yeti türlüg yeväki<sup>42</sup> äñilki üdinčä almiš k(ä)rgäk  
 02 күн tugar tugmaz aşukar ikinti ärtig<sup>43</sup>-tin al  
 03 -miš k(ä)rgäk üçünč kodı orun-ta olurup almiš  
 04 k(ä)rgäk törtünč bačag bertäči-tä basa söylämiš k(ä)rgäk  
 05 bešinč säkiz čahšap(a)t-ıg tükäl almiš k(ä)rgäk altınč  
 06 yitinmädin katınm[adın almiš] k(ä)rgäk yetinč күнli

<sup>40</sup>. Yoshida 1984, p. 171 a note by N. Sims-Williams who compares tpy'r with English to-night.

<sup>41</sup>. Here I express my gratitude to Irina Popova, the director of the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts of the Russian Academy of Sciences for the permission to publish the fragment as well as to Anna Turanskaya for her help.

<sup>42</sup>. The term *yeväk* which has a “generalising” possessive suffix might be an equivalent for Skt. *sambhāra*.

<sup>43</sup>. Spelling uncertain.

07 tünli küzätgükä [ almiš] k(ä)rgäk beš  
08 türlüg küzätigi<sup>44</sup> özlüg ölürmämäk başlap säkiz  
09 čahšapt-ıg ärtürmämış k(ä)rgäk ikinti bo ok säkiz  
10 čahšapt-ıg ärtgölük punyav(a)t sımak kılmamış  
11 k(ä)rgäk üçünč öñtünki kenki sav-larig tutup [ken]  
12 öñrä antag ilinčülätim antag av avlatım kuš  
13 kušlatım yagı san[čtı]m ken ken ymä antag  
verso  
01 ok kılayın bukün muntag-ın ärtüräyin yarında  
02 ınaru antag tınl(ı)g-larig münlärin yasuk-ların  
03 kın kızgut kılayın körkümin kolumın  
04 kısayın tokıyın tep munta-ta ulatı ämgäklig  
05 sakınč-larig sakınmamış k(ä)rgäk törtünč altı  
06 türlüg tümän [ ]miš k(ä)rgäk bešin[č] bačag  
07 sanvar-tın turmayın [ ] kılınč-ka 'wt///  
08 k(ä)rgäk altı türlüg [ ] ömäk-lig sansar bo nom  
09 ömäk-lig ärür ::

A first attempt of a translation will be given here:

“Sevenfold *sambhāra*.

Firstly. According to time one should accept (the commandments), as soon as the sun rises one hurries.

Secondly, one should accept them from passing (?).

Thirdly. Sitting on a lower place, one should accept them.

Fourthly. After the fasting one should speak (to accept the commandments).

Fifthly. The eight commandments are to be accepted in full.

Sixthly. Without losing and without adding one should [accept] them.

Seventhly. To preserve them day and night, one should accept them.

The five preservations:

<Firstly>. One should not give up the eight commandments beginning with the non-killing of the living.

Secondly. One shall not do the breaking of the *punyavat* deeds of performing the Eight Commandments.

Thirdly. One shall keep the former and the later things. Sooner [or later] or later I have amused myself so and so, so and so I have hunted, caught birds, crushed enemies, later I want to do the same, and today I want to do it so, and from tomorrow one should not have such thoughts as: I want to commit against such living beings sins and transgressions, torments, I want to press and strike my shape and my time (?).

Fourthly. One shall do the six kinds [of ...].

Fifthly. I will not let go of the fasting *samvara*, one should turn to the [punya] deeds.

The *samsāra* of thinking of the six kinds [of ...] is thinking of the Dharma.”

The refuge to the *triratna* is a formula at the beginning of many Buddhist texts and plays an important integral role in Buddhist communities and congregations. A special example is a text of this kind for a certain Indrasena, a Sanskrit text written in Uygur script.<sup>45</sup> Here follows a heterogenous group of Uygur fragments extolling the topic as a starting point for a broader study of the *triratna* complex in Old Uygur Buddhism:

<sup>44</sup>. The term *küzätig* “preservation” has also a “generalising” possessive suffix.

45. U 6170, cp. Hartmann & Wille & Zieme 1996.

SI 5667	SI 5667 (2 Kr 45) verso (second text <sup>46</sup> ). Fragment of the Serindia Collection of IOM/RAS
TAM	Fragment 58.5.669 of the Tianjin Art Museum <sup>47</sup>
Ot.Ry. 7074	Fragment of the Otani Collection at the Library of the Ryukoku University, Kyoto
Ot. Ry. 7008	Fragment of the Otani Collection at the Library of the Ryukoku University, Kyoto
Ch/U 6254	Fragment of the Turfan Collection of Berlin
Ch/U 6852	Fragment of the Turfan Collection of Berlin
Дх 12920	Fragment of the Dunhuang Collection of the IOM /RAS
Pell.	Pelliot divers No. 3 verso <sup>48</sup> of the Pelliot Collection at the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris <sup>49</sup> .

	<i>Triratna veneration and acceptance of the commands</i>
(a)	
SI 5667	01 namo but namo drm namosaṃ
TAM	–
Ot.Ry. 7074	01 [na]mo but namo drm namosaṃ
Ot.Ry. 7008	01 [namo but namo drm namo]saṃ
Ch/U 6254	01 namo but namo dram namo sang
Ch/U 6852	01 [namo but namo drm namo s]aṃ
Dx 12920	01 namo bud namo drm namo saṃ
Pell.	01 nam[o] but namo darm namo saṃ
(b)	
SI 5667	02 amtı m(ä)n usıkı
TAM	01 amtı m(ä)n vaptso
Ot.Ry. 7074	02 amtı m(ä)n kändü özüm
Ot.Ry. 7008	(01) amtı m(ä)n kändü özüm
Ch/U 6254	02 amtı m(ä)n
Ch/U 6852	(01) amtı m[än ...]
Dx 12920	amdı m[än...]
Pell.	02 am[tı] m(ä)n kändü özüm
(c)	
SI 5667	(02) alku türlüg ayıglardın ävrilür-m(ä)n kop 03 türlüg ädgü-lüg işlär-tä ät'özümün ögrätinürm(ä)n kamıg 04 tört tugum beş azun tınl(ı)g oğlan-larıña enč tunč 05 bolur m(ä)n ädgü-gärü tavrannmakın burhan kutı küsüşüm üçün
TAM	ädgügärü tavrannmakın yeg 02 üstünki burhan kutı küsüşin
Ot.Ry. 7074	–
Ot.Ry. 7008	tözkärinčsiz yeg üstünki 02 [...]
Ch/U 6254	burhan kutı-lıg küsüşüm üç 03 [-ün]

<sup>46</sup>. USp No. 100.

<sup>47</sup>. Niu & Zieme 1996.

<sup>48</sup>. Recto: T.IX.262.58a13-21.

<sup>49</sup>. Niu Ruji 2000, p. 273.



Ch/U 6852	02 [ ... tö]zkärin<ç>siz yeg [üstünki burhan kutılıg] 03 [küsüşüm] üçün
Dx 12920	–
Pell.	(02) hagan han 03 äzrua hormuzta tört 04 m(a)haraç t(ä)ñrilärniñ t(ä)ñridäm 05 ıduk küçläri küsünläri 06 üklügü asılgı üçün ädgü 07 -gärü tavrannak-ın tözkärinç 08 -siz yeg üstünki burhan 09 kutı-lıg küsüş-üm üçün
(d)	
SI 5667	06 burhan-ka inanur-m(ä)n nom-ka inanur-m(ä)n bursuñ kuvrag-ka 07 inanurm(ä)n
TAM	03 burhanka inanurm(ä)n nom-ka inanur-m(ä)n 04 bursuñ kuvrag-ka inanurm(ä)n
Ot.Ry. 7074	(02) burhanka 03 inanurm(ä)n nom-ka inanur-m(ä)n tözün 04 bursuñ kuvrag-ka inanurm(ä)n
Ot.Ry. 7008	(02) burhan-ka inanurm(ä)n nom-ka inanurm(ä)n tözün 03 [bursuñ kuvrag-ka inanurm(ä)]n
Ch/U 6254	burhan-ka inanurm(ä)n nom-ka inanurm(ä)n : 04 [tözün] bursuñ kuvr(a)g-ka inanurm(ä)n
Ch/U 6852	burhan-ka [inanurmän nomka inanurmän] 04 [tözün b]ursuñ kuvrag-ka ı[nanurmän]
Dx 12920	02 burhan-ka inanurm(ä)n nom-ka inanur[män bursuñka] 03 inanurm(ä)n
Pell.	10 burhan-ka inanurm(ä)n nom-ka 11 inanurm(ä)n tözün bursuñ kuvrag 12 -ka inanurm(ä)n
(e)	
SI 5667	(07) ikindi yolu m(ä)n usıkı burhan kutı küsüşüm üçün
TAM	(04) ikinti yolu 05 ymä m(ä)n vaptso
Ot.Ry. 7074	ikinti 05 [yo]lı ymä m(ä)n kändü
Ot.Ry. 7008	(03) ikindi yolu yämä m(ä)n kändü özüm tözkärinç-s[iz] 04 [tözün burhan] kutı-lıg küsüşüm üçün
Ch/U 6254	ikinti yolu ymä
Ch/U 6852	05 [...] m(ä)n äsän ädgü-gärü t[avranmakın] 06 [ y]eg'üstünki burhan [kutı] 07 [üçün]
Dx 12920	ikinti üçünç yolu y[mä]
Pell.	(12) ikinti yolu ymä 13 hagan han oñ taizi başlap 14 öñdünki kedin(ki) elig-lär-niñ 15 han-lar-niñ özläri yaşları 16 uzun bolgu üçün ädgü-gärü 17 tavrannak-ın tözkärinç-siz yeg 18 üstünki burhan kutı-lıg 19 küsüş-üm üçün
(f)	
SI 5667	08 burhan-ka inanur-m(ä)n nom-ka inanur-m(ä)n bursuñ kuvrag-ka 09 inanurm(ä)n
TAM	burhan-ka inanur-m(ä)n nom-06 ka inanur-m(ä)n bursuñ kuvrag-ka inanur-m(ä)n
Ot.Ry. 7074	burhan-[ka inanur-m(ä)n] 06 nom-ka inanur-m(ä)n tözün burs[an] 07 kuvrag inanurm(ä)n
Ot.Ry. 7008	(04) burhanka inanur [...]
Ch/U 6254	05 [inanur]m(ä)n burhan kutı-nıñ [...]
Ch/U 6852	(07) burhan-ka inanurmn [...] 08 bursuñ kuvrag-ka inanur-män
Dx 12920	(03) [burhanka] 04 inanurm(ä)n nomka inanurm(ä)n bursuñ[ka inanurmän]
Pell.	burhan-ka (...)
(g)	
SI 5667	üçünç yolu ymä m(ä)n usıkı burhan-ka inanur-m(ä)n 10 nom-ka inanur-m(ä)n bursuñ kuvrag-ka inanur-m(ä)n

TAM	07 üçünç yolu ymā m(ä)n vaptso burhan-ka 08 inanur-m(ä)n nom-ka inanur-m(ä)n bursuñ kuvrag- 09 ka inanurm(ä)n
Ot.Ry. 7074	(07) üçünç yol[ı ]
Ot.Ry. 7008	
Ch/U 6254	
Ch/U 6852	[...] 09 m(ä)n äsän ädgü-gärü tavranmak-ın [töz] 10 -kärinčsiz yeg’üstünki burhan kutı[-lıg küsü] 11 -šüm üçün burhan-ka inanu[rmän nom-ka inanurmän 12 bursuñ kuvrag-ka inanurm(ä)n
Dx 12920	((second and third times joined))
Pell.	–
(h)	
SI 5667	(10) amtı m(ä)n 11 usıkı burhan-ka inantım nom-ka inantım bursuñ kuvrag-ka 12 inantım :
TAM	tamular 10 -ta tugmayın nom-ka inanurm(ä)n yılmı 11 ažuınta tugmayın bursuñ kuvrag-ka 12 inanurm(ä)n piritlar ažuınta tugmayın
Ot.Ry. 7074	–
Ot.Ry. 7008	–
Ch/U 6254	–
Ch/U 6852	(12) a[mtı ...] 13 m[...]
Dx 12920	05 amtı m(ä)n burhanka inantım tam[ularta tugmayın] 06 nomka (inantım) yılmı ažuınta tugma[yın bursuñ] 07 -ka <inantım> piritlar ažuınta tu[gmayın]
Pell.	–
(i)	
SI 5667	kim t(ä)ñri burhan y(a)rılıkamış tünli künli küzädgölük 13 säkiz tözün baçag sanvarıg küzädgäli alu täginür-m(ä)n arıgın 14 küzädü täginür-m(ä)n in kip tegmä . (frei)
TAM	13 alu täginürm(ä)n kañım t(ä)ñri t(ä)ñrısı burhan 14 y(a)rılıkamış üç türlüğ umug ıag 15 boltaçı buyan ädgü kılınçıg
Ot.Ry. 7074	–
Ot.Ry. 7008	–
Ch/U 6254	–
Ch/U 6852	–
Dx 12920	08 kañım t(ä)ñri burhan y(a)rılıkamı[ş]
Pell.	–

### Donors

Donors appear in the appropriate places with their names as Usıkı, Vaptso, and Äsän, others are not personalized. The Pelliot text from Paris is of great importance because in the Buddhist context the Mongolian emperor and prince are included, in such a way that once the emperor (*hagan han*) is mentioned before Indra and Brahmā, the second time also all other kings: “the eastern and western kings with the emperor and the prince Wang Taizi at the head” (*hagan han oñ taizi başlap öñdüñki kedinki eligläñniñ hanlarnıñ*). Such inclusion of rulers is well known from Uygur colophons<sup>50</sup>.

<sup>50</sup>. BT.13.20.67-71.

## Outlook

The Buddhist genre presented here in its Old Uyghur version should be studied in a larger scale including more variants of this text and similar works attested or still to be detected in Old Uyghur. But from the given examples already at this stage one can conclude that the \**Muyuzan* – circulating independently or integrated into different contexts – can be considered as part of the faithful’s companions in religious practice.

## Appendix

A further manuscript of the Uyghur \**Muyuzan* for the text passage from Ia to IIId is preserved within a composite textbook of writing exercises belonging to the Serindia Collection of IOM: SI 3791 (2Kr 17) verso lines 107-136. Each phrase in a rather large cursive script is repeated in a somewhat smaller hand left of the line. This manuscript does not contain Chinese characters in the Uyghur script. Apart from some wrong spellings, the text has only two minor additions. For Ic the lines 113-114 show the adverbial phrase *äsirgänčsiz köñülin* “in an unstinting mind” before the final verb. According to lines 123–124 IIc *kamig* [*arasinta*] is to be changed into *kamig*[*ta kamig*].

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